

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
CINCPAC
AMCONSUL BOMBAY
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NEWDELHI 7594

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IN
SUBJECT: STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS: THE LINE-UP

REF: NEW DELHI 7263

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: WELL OVER TWO THOUSAND SEATS WILL
BE CONTESTED IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS DUE TO BE HELD JUNE
10-14 IN TEN STATES AND THREE UNION TERRITORIES. WITH THE
DEADLINE FOR WITHDRAWING NOMINATION PAPERS HAVING PASSED, A
LARGE NUMBER OF CANDIDATES REMAIN IN THE RUNNING--IN MOST
STATES, THE LARGEST NUMBER EVER TO CONTEST ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS.
THE JANATA PARTY, PERHAPS EMBOLDENED BY ITS STUNNING SWEEP
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IN THE MARCH LOK SABHA ELECTIONS, HAS BY AND LARGE NOT REPEATED
THE PRACTICE OF FORGING POLL ALLIANCES WITH OTHER PARTIES:
WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PUNJAB, THE RULING PARTY IS FIELDING
NOMINEES FOR ALMOST ALL SEATS. CONGRESS, ON THE OTHER HAND,
HAS ARRANGED ELECTORAL ALLIANCES WITH ITS ALLY OF FORMER DAYS,
THE CPI, IN MANY STATES. AS A RESULT OF THE HECTIC SCRAMBLE
FOR JANATA NOMINATIONS (REFTEL), MANY TICKET-SEEKERS TRYING

TO CLIMB ABOARD THE JANATA BANDWAGON WERE DENIED NOMINATIONS AND ARE DISGRUNTLED. SOME HAVE WITHDRAWN THEIR PAPERS AND THE JANATA LEADERSHIP IS NOW URGING THOSE WHO DID NOT DO SO BEFORE THE MAY 21 DEADLINE TO "RETIRE" FROM THE RACES AND SUPPORT THE OFFICIAL CANDIDATES. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO PREDICT HOW MANY WILL COMPLY, BUT AT THE MOMENT A LARGE NUMBER OF SUCH "LOSERS" APPEAR DETERMINED TO CONTEST SEATS AS INDEPENDENTS OR AS "REBEL" JANATA OR CFD CANDIDATES. UNLIKE THE PATTERN ESTABLISHED IN THE LOK SABHA POLL, MOST ASSEMBLY RACES WILL BE MULTI-CORNERED, A FACT WHICH COULD DIM JANATA PROSPECTS OF RDHEATING ITS SWEEP IN MARCH. AS THE CAMPAIGN GETS UNDERWAY, OBSERVERS ARE NOT YET MAKING PREDICTIONS ON THE OUTCOME, BUT THE GENERAL FEELING IS THAT SEVERAL FACTORS COULD SIGNIFICANTLY DIMINISH THE FORCE OF THE JANATA "WIND". AMONG GESE ARE THE MULTIPLICITY OF CANDIDATES, STEADILY RISING PRICES AND THE FACT THAT THE JANATA INFIGHTING OVER TICKETS HAS TARNISHED THE RULING PARTIES IMAGE. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THESE FACTORS WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO OVERCOME CONTINUING POPULAR RESENTMENT AGAINST THE CONGRESS. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

1. BY OUR CALCULATIONS SOME 2335 ASSEMBLY SEATS IN TEN STATES AND THREE UNION TERRITORIES WILL BE CONTESTED IN THE JUNE 10-14 ELECTIONS. IN MOST STATES THE NUMBER OF CANDIDATES IS THE LARGEST EVER IN THE FIELD. BECAUSE OF THE FAR LARGER NUMBER OF RACES AND CONTESTANTS AND THE FACT THAT MOST CANDIDATES ARE LITTLE KNOWN ON THE NATIONAL SCENE, IT IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO EVALUATE THE NOMINATION LISTS AS THOROUGHLY OR IN AS MUCH DETAIL AS IN THE LOK SABHA POLL. NONETHELESS, OBSERVERS HERE CONFIDENTIAL

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PERCEIVE SEVERAL BROAD TRENDS IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE LISTS WHICH COULD AFFECT THE OUTCOME: (A) PERHAPS EMBOLDENED BY ITS PERFORMANCE IN MARCH, THE JANATA IS GOING IT ALONE IN ALL STATES EXCEPT THE PUNJAB. AFTER THE LAPSE IN THE LOK SABHA ELECTION, THE CONGRESS ON THE OTHER HAND HAS RENEWED ELECTORAL UNDERSTANDINGS IN MANY STATES WITH THE CPI. (B) EXCEPT FOR S.S. RAY IN WEST BENGAL, THE CONGRESS CHIEF MINISTERS OF THE NINE STATES WHOSE ASSEMBLIES WERE DISSOLVED AS WELL AS MANY OF THEIR MINISTERS ARE CONTESTING SEATS. AT THE OUTSET, GLOOMY PREDICTIONS ON CONGRESS PROSPECTS HAD DETERRED MANY SITTING CONGRESS MLA'S FROM SEEKING CUNOMINATION. HOWEVER, AS DISSENSIONS GREW WITHIN JANATA RANKS AND CONGRESS HOPES BRIGHTENED, THE PARTY'S TICKETS BECAME MORE ATTRACTIVE AND THERE WAS A SMALL SCRAMBLE. THE END RESULT HAS BEEN THAT THE CONGRESS LISTS IN MOST STATES ARE A MIXTURE OF OLD AND NEW FACES, WITH NEW COMERS OUTNUMBERING SITTING MLA'S IN MOST CUSES. (C) THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION OF MOST OBSERVERS HAS BEEN THE COMPOSITION OF THE JANATA LISTS, PARTICULARLY THE DIVISION

OF TICKETS AMONG MEMBERS OF JANATA'S ERSTWHILE CONSTITUENT PARTIES. THE PATTERN VARIES AMONG STATES, BUT THE GENERAL CONSENSUS IS THAT THE BLD AND JAN SANGH FARED APPRECIABLY BETTER THAN THE CONGRESS (O), CFD AND SOCIALISTS IN THE NORTH-ERN HINDI BELT. (D) A COROLLARY POINT AND A MAJOR IMPON-DERABLE IN THESE ELECTIONS IS THE DEGREE TO WHICH "LOSERS" IN THE JANATA TICKET SCRAMBLE WILL CONTEST AS INDEPENDENTS OR "REBELS" AND THUS SPLIT THE PRO-JANATA VOTE. A BREAKDOWN OF THE STATE ASSEMBLY RACES FOLLOWS:

2. BIHAR: 324 SEATS, 2994 CANDIDATES. THE SCRAMBLE FOR JANATA TICKETS WAS SUCH THAT THE STATE ELECTION COMMITTEE LITERALLY HAD TO RETREAT TO A BOAT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE GANGES TO REACH ITS DECISIONS. OF JANATA NOMINEES, THE TICKET DISTRI-BUTION IS AS FOLLOWS: JAN SANGH 64; CONGRESS (O) 52; BLD 52; SOCIALISTS 53; CHHATRA SANGARSH SAMITI (J.P. NARAYAN'S STU-DENT STRUGGLE COMMITTEE OF THE 1974-75 AGITATION) 54; CFD 18.
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POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF THE REMAINING 31 CANDIDATES IS NOT KNOWN. THE CFD APPEARS TO BE THE MOST UNHAPPY GROUP, AND A REBEL CFD UNIT HAS ARISEN WHICH IS FIELDING ITS OWN SLATE OF 90 CANDIDATES. IN ADDITION, SOME SOCIALISTS AND SUPPORTERS OF J.P.'S STUDENT MOVEMENT ARE DISGRUNTLED AT THE TICKET DIS-TRIBUTION AND ARE RUNNING AS INDEPENDENTS. UNDER ITS AGREE-MENT WITH THE CPI, CONGRESS IS LEAVING 49 SEATS OPEN TO THE COMMUNISTS. (SINCE THEOWCI HAS NOMINATED 75 CANDIDATES, THERE

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AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS

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WILL BE "FRIENDLY" CONTESTS BETWEEN THE TOW PARTIES IN 26 DISTRICTS.) A LEFTIST FRONT IS RUNNING 75 CANDIDATES, OF WHICH THE CPM HAS 19. THERE ARE ALSO 80 CANDIDATES OF THE NEWLY-FORMED "ALL INDIA SOCIALIST PARTY" AND MANY INDEPENDENTS.

3. HARYANA: 90 SEATS, 670 CANDIDATES. THE BLD SEEMS TO HAVE EMERGED THE WINNER IN THE BITTER WRANGLING OVER TICKETS. IT RECEIVED 46 NOMINATIONS, CONGRESS (O) 15, JAN SANGH 14, SOCIALISTS, CFD AND AKALIS THREE EACH, AND OTHERS 6. THE JANATA OBSERVER FOR HARYANA, HEALTH MINISTER RAJ NARAIN, IS CLOSE TO FORMER BLD CHAIRMAN CHARAN SINGH AND PROBABLY WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN ASSURING THAT BLD CANDIDATES RECEIVED THE BULK OF THE TICKETS IN THIS JANATA-DOMINATED STATE. (THE BLD IS PRIMARILY THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTY OF THE LAND-OWNING JAT CASTE.) JANATA REBELS ARE FIELDING 30 CANDIDATES UNDER THE BANNER OF A SPLINTER PARTY AND IN ALLIANCE WITH THE LOCAL VISHAL HARYANA PARTY. AT LEAST 40 OTHER JANATA REBELS ARE RUNNING AS INDEPENDENTS. FAILING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE CPI, CONGRESS IS CONTESTING 89 SEATS AND THE CPI 14. THERE ARE MANY NEWCOMERS ON THE CONGRESS LIST, PROBABLY AN ATTEMPT TO RADICALLY BREAK WITH THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH EMERGENCY EXCESSES.

4. HIMACHAL PRADESH: 68 SEATS, 329 CANDIDATES. JANATA IS CONTESTING ALL SEATS: JAN SANGHIS RECEIVED 38 TICKETS, CFD 17, CONGRESS (O) THREE, PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE COMMITTEE TWO, SOCIALISTS ONE, AND INDEPENDENTS 7. NO RECENT CONGRESS DEFECTORS RECEIVED TICKETS. CONGRESS IS RUNNING 57 CANDIDATES AND LEFT 5 OTHER SEATS UNCONTESTED FOR THE CPI. AS USUAL, THERE IS A LARGE NUMBER OF INDEPENDENTS.

5. MADHYA PRADESH: 320 SEATS, 1993 CANDIDATES. IN ONLY 30 DISTRICTS WILL THERE BE STRAIGHT CONTESTS; THE OTHERS WILL HAVE FROM THREE TO 29 CONTESTANTS. MADHYA PRADESH BEING A JAN SANGH STRONGHOLD, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT 170 TICKETS WENT TO JAN SANGH NOMINEES. SOCIALISTS RECEIVED 60 TICKETS,

BLD 40, RPI 4 AND CONGRESS (O) 20. THE REMAINING 26 ARE DISTRIBUTED AMONG CFD AND NON-IDENTIFIABLE JANATA ELEMENTS. THE JAN SANGH, WHICH REPORTEDLY WANTED 220 SEATS, MAY BE DISSATISFIED WITH ITS LESSER SHARE. THE JAN SANGH HAS THE ONLY GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION IN THE STATE, AND OVERALL JANATA PROSPECTS COULD BE DIMINISHED IF JAN SANGH CADRE REFUSES TO WORK FOR OTHER JANATA CANDIDATES. CONGRESS IS CONTESTING ALL THE SEATS BUT IS STILL SUFFERING FROM THE AFTER SHOCK OF THE LOK SABHA ELECTION. THE CPI IS NOT ALLIED WITH THE CONGRESS AND HAS FIELDDED 47 CANDIDATES, WHILE A SPLINTER CFD GROUP IS CONTESTING 160 SEATS. IN ADDITION TO INDEPENDENTS, THERE IS ALSO A "JANATA MORCHA" SPLINTER OF THE JANATA PARTY.

6. PUNJAB: 117 SEATS, 673 CANDIDATES. THE MAJOR BATTLE
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LINES RUN ALONG THE CONGRESS/CPI ALLIANCE AND THE AKALI DAL/JANATA/CPM COMBINE. UNDER THE FORMER, CONGRESS IS CONTESTING 96 SEATS, THE CPI 18 AND NO CANDIDATES IN THE REMAINING THREE. UNDER THE LATTER, THE AKALIS HAVE 70 CANDIDATES, JANATA 40 (MOSTLY JAN SANGHIS) AND THE CPM 8. (DESPITE THE SEAT ADJUSTMENT, JANATA AND CPM NOMINEES ARE OPPOSING EACH OTHER IN ONE DISTRICT.) THE AKALIS EVIDENTLY HOPE TO FORM A GOVERNMENT ON THEIR OWN AND HAVE FIELDDED SEVERAL PROMINENT PARTY LEADERS, INCLUDING UNION AGRICULTURE MINISTER PRAKASH SINGH BADAL, IN ANTICIPATION OF FORMING A MINISTRY. BADAL, WHO IS THE ONLY CENTRAL MINISTER CONTESTING AN ASSEMBLY SEAT ANYWHERE IN THE COUNTRY, IS RUMORED TO BE
THE NEXT CHIEF MINISTER IF THE
AKALIS SECURE A MAJORITY.

7. ORISSA: 147 SEATS, 604 CANDIDATES. BLD LEADER BIJU PATNAIK'S UNQUESTIONED LEADERSHIP IN ORISSA MADE TICKET DISTRIBUTION RELATIVELY BLOODLESS. OF THE 145 SEATS WHICH JANATAMES CONTESTING (IT HAS GIVEN TWO TO THE CPM), SOME 70 TICKETS WENT TO BLD SUPPORTERS. JAN SANGH AND SOCIALISTS GOT ABOUT 25 EACH, AND THE REMAINDER WERE DIVIDED AMONG CONGRESS (O) AND CFD. THE MAJOR POINT OF CONTENTION WAS THE AWARDING OF A TICKET TO MRS. NANDINI SATPATHY, FORMER CONGRESS CHIEF MINISTER AND A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE CFD. OTHER JANATA CONSTITUENT PARTIES SUFFERED UNDER HER REGIME DURING THE EMERGENCY AND MAY CAMPAIGN FOR HER OPPONENT. THE CONGRESS SLATE CONSISTS MAINLY OF SITTING CONGRESS MLA'S.

8. RAJASTHAN: 200 SEATS, 1157 CANDIDATES. THE BULK OF THE JANATA CANDIDATES, WHO ARE CONTESTING ALL SEATS, APPEAR TO BE FROM THE LOCALLY-POWERFUL JAN SANGH. SINCE JATS ARE AN IMPORTANT CASTE IN RAJASTHAN, A LARGE NUMBER OF BLD SUPPORTERS HAVE ALSO RECEIVED TICKETS. THE CONGRESS LIST IS NOT NOTEWORTHY ASIDE FROM THE FACT THAT ALL MEMBERS OF HARIDEO JOSHI'S

FORMER CABINET ARE CONTESTING SEATS. AS IS THE PATTERN ELSE-
WHERE, JANATA SUPPORTERS DENIED THE OFFICIAL NOMINATION
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(SOME 100 ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS) ARE REMAINING IN THE
FIELD AS INDEPENDENTS.

9.OR

TAMIL NADU: 234 SEATS, 1390 CANDIDATES. ELECTORAL AL-
LIANCES HAVE BEEN FORGED ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES, THUS
ENSURING THAT THERE ARE FOUR CANDIDATES (PLUS INDEPENDENTS)
FOR VIRTUALLY EVERY SEAT: (A) AIADMK, CPM, INDIAN UNION
MUSLIN LEAGUE, INDIAN NATIONAL FORWARD BLOC, AND TOILERS PRO-
GRESSIVE PARTY; (B) JANATA A A SMALL SPLINTER PARTY; (C) CON-
GRESS AND CPI; AND (D) THE DML. THE SENIOR PARTNER IN EACH
OF THE ALLIANCES IS FIELDING THE BULK OF THE CANDIDATES:
JANATA 233, AIADMK 200, CONGRESS 198, AND DMK 230. SINCE
JANATA PARTY IN TAMIL NADU IS VIRTUALLY SYNONOMOUS WITH THE
CONGRESS (O), THE TICKET DISTRIBUTION PROCESS WAS RELATIVELY
EASY. GIVEN THE CONGRESS' WEAK ORGANIZATION AND THE DMK'S
DECLINING IMAGE, THE REAL CONTEST WILL BE BETWEEN JANATA AND
AIADMK.

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AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS

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10. U.P.: 425 SEATS, 2994 CANDIDATES. THERE WILL BE ONLY 16 STRAIGHT CONTESTS. THE JANATA LEADERSHIP WAS REPORTEDLY FLOODED WITH OVER 20,000 APPLICATIONS AND THE RESULTING TICKET DISTRIBUTION WAS PERHAPS THE MOST ACRIMONIOUS OF ANY STATE. JANATA OBSERVER FOR U.P., CHARAN SINGH, EVIDENTLY SOUGHT TO ASSURE THAT HIS BLD SUPPORTERS RECEIVED THE MAJORITY OF THE NOMINATIONS. AFTER LOUD PROTESTS FROM THE MAJOR LOSERS IN THIS STRATEGY, CONGRESS (O) AND CFD, JANATA PRESIDENT CHANDRA SHEKHAR INTERVENED AT THE LAST MINUTE TO READJUST THE BALANCE. PRESS REPORTS VARY ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE FINAL LIST, BUT THAUGENERAL CONSENSUS IS THAT BLD NOMINEES STILL EMERGED ON TOP WITH ABOUT 200 TICKETS, JAN SANGH 110, CFD 40, CONGRESS (O) 30, SOCIALISTS 20, WITH THE REMAINDER
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DIVIDED AMONG CONGRESS DEFECTORS. ALTOGETHER, JANATA IS CONTESTING ALL BUT THREE OF THE SEATS. FOLLOWING AN ELECTORAL ADJUSTMENT WITH THE COMMUNISTS, CONGRESS FIELDDED 395 NOMINEES, AND THE CPI 28. THE CPM IS RUNNING 35 CANDIDATES ON ITS OWN. ASIDE FROM JANATA AND CFD REBELS RUNNING AS INDEPENDENTS, OTHER DISSIDENTS SUCH AS THE "ALL INDIA SOCIALIST PARTY" AND "REVIVED CFD" ARE JOINTLY FIELDING SOME 280 CANDIDATES. DESPITE CHANDRA SHEKHAR'S INTERVENTION, THE CFD STILL SEEMS TO HAVE SUFFERED THE SHARPEST SETBACK AMONG JANATA'S COMPONENT PARTIES.

11. WEST BENGAL: 294 SEATS, OVER 1500 CANDIDATES. THE

MAJOR DEVEOPMENT WAS THE FAILURE OF THE JANATA AND CPM TO RENEW THEIR ELECTORAL ALLIANCE OF MARCH. WHILE THE NATIONAL JANATA LEADERSHIP FAVORED SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING OUT OFNONCERN FOR THE WEAKNESS OF THE STATE JANATA ORGANIZATION, LOCAL LEADERS WERE RELUCTANT TO JOIN WITH THE CPM BECAUSE THIS COULD HAVE RECALLED THE BITTER MEMORIES OF THE UNITED FRONT OF THE EARLY 1970'S AND BECAUSE OF THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THEIR PARTY'S ABILITY TO GO IT ALONE. THE CPM BADLY WANTED THE RESPECTABILITY AN ALLIANCE WITH JANATA WULD HAVE PROVIDED, BUT NOT AT THE PRICE OF ACCEPTING THE LATTER'S OFFER OF ONLY 104 SEATS. HENCE, THERE WILL BE THREE MAJOR ALIGNMENTS CONTESTING ALL 294 SEATS: JANATA, CONGRESS AND LEFT FRONG (CPM,

FORWARD BLOC, RSP). IN ADDITION, THE CPI IS RUNNING 61 CANDIDATES ON ITS OWN, A SPLINTER CFD GROUP IS CONTESTING 50-60 SEATS, AND THERE ARE SOME 500 INDEPENDENTS. BREAK-DOWN OF JANATA CANDIDATES IS; CONGRESS (O) 108, JAN SANGH 66, BLD 40, CFD 35, AND SOCIALISTS 45. OVERALL IT IS NOT A PARTICULARLY HIGH POWERED LIST, SINCE MOST OF JANATA'S WELL KNOWN FACES RAN AND WON IN THE LOK SABHA POLL. THE CONGRESS LIST INCLUDES ALL OF THE TRADITIONAL BIG NAMES (EXCEPT FOR S.S. RAY) AND GIVES FAIRLY BALANCED

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REPRESENTATION TO THE PARTY'S FACTIONS. MOST OF THE NOMINEES OF THE LEFT FRONT (IN WHICH THE CPM IS CONTESTING 224 SEATS) ARE OLD ESTABLISHED FIGURES WHO GOUGHT AND WON IN THE 1971 STATE ELECTIONS.

12. MOST OBSERVERS AGREE THAT THE ABILITY OF THE JANATA PARTY TO FIELD A SINGLE CANDIDATE FOR EACH CONSTITUENCY IN THE LOK SABHA POLL WAS A MAJOR CAUSE FOR ITS SUCCESS, IN THAT IN PREVIOUS ELECTIONS THE ANTI-CONGRESS VOTE HAD BEEN DIVIDED AMONG JANATA'S CONSTITUENT PARTIES. AS THE BREAKDOWN ABOVE DEMONSTRATES, JANATA MAY NOT HAVE THE SAME ADVANTAGE IN MANY STATES IN THE JUNE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS BECAUSE OF THE PLETHORA OF TICKETSEEKERS WHO WERE DENIED NOMINATIONS AND MAY BE DETERMINED TO STAY IN THE RACE AS INDEPENDENTS OR CANDIDATES OF "REVIVED" PARTIES, SUCH AS CFD. THESE JANATA ELEMENTS ARE DISGRUNTLED OVER THE NOMINATION PROCESS FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS: PERSONAL PIQUE AT BEING "PASSED OVER", DISSATISFACTION OVER THE ALLEGEDLY DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF TICKETS GIVEN TO CERTAIN CONSTITUENT PARTIES (NOTABLY JAN SANGH AND BLD) AND UNHAPPINESS THAT TICKETS WERE GIVEN TO RELATIVES AND CLOSE ASSOCIATES OF POWERFUL JANATA LEADERS AT THE CENTER. ONE SENIOR JOURNALIST TELLS US, HOWEVER, THAT THE MAJOR COMPLAINT IS THAT TICKETS WERE GIVEN TO MANY RECENT DEFECTORS FROM THE CONGRESS WHO HAD ACQUIESCED IN OR EVEN DEFENDED MRS GANDHI'S EMERGENCY RULE; IT IS ALLEGED THAT DETAINEES AND THOSE WHO WORKED AGAINST THE EMERGENCY UNDERGROUND DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR FAIR SHARE OF NOMINATIONS. SINCE IT IS TOO LATE TO WITHDRAW NOMINATION PAPERS, THE JANATA LEADERSHIP IS NOW URGING THESE REBELS TO "RETIRE" FROM THE CONTEST BY DECLINING TO CAMPAIGN ON THEIR OWN BEHALF AND THROW THEIR SUPPORT BEHIND THE PARTY'S OFFICIAL CANDIDATE. THEIR NAMES, HOWEVER, WOULD STILL APPEAR ON THE BALLOT. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO PREDICT HOW MANY WILL COMPLY, AND SOME OBSERVERS FEEL THAT ONLY A DIRECT APPEAL

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FROM JANATA ELDER STATESMAN J.P. NARAYAN WILL HAVE MUCH EFFECT. SO

FAR, J.P. HAS NOT INTERVENED BEYOND A REPORTED STATEMENT THAT THE TICKET SCRAMBLE DEMONSTRATED THE "IMMATURITY" OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY. AT THIS STAGE IT IS ALSO DIFFICULT TO ASSESS THE EXTENT OF DAMAGE WHICH THE REBELS CAN INFLICT ON THE OFFICIAL JANATA CANDIDATES BY SPLITTING THE PRO-JANATA VOTE. IT IS WORTHWHILE TO NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME CONGRESSMEN ARE SAYING THEIR PARTY'S PROSPECTS HAVE IMPROVED AS A RESULT OF THE JANATA SQUABBLES OF THE LAST TWO WEEKS.
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